

Beyond Greenham Woman?

Gender Identities and Anti-Nuclear Activism in Peace Camps

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Version accepted for publication in International Feminist Journal of Politics 12/1/17

Abstract

This article investigates the discursive construction of gendered identities in anti-nuclear activism, particularly peace camps. My starting point is the now substantial academic literature on Cold War women-only peace camps, such as Greenham Common. I extend the analysis that emerges from this literature in my research on the mixed-gender, long-standing camp at Faslane naval base in Scotland. I argue that the 1980s saw the articulation in the camp of what I call the Gender-Equal Peace Activist, displaced in the 1990s by Peace Warrior/Earth Goddess identities that were influenced by radical environmentalism and that both reinstated hierarchical gender norms and asserted difference from and superiority over mainstream social subjectivities. I conclude that the gendered identities constructed in and through anti-nuclear activism are even more variable than previously considered; that they shift over time as well as place and are influenced by diverse movements, not solely feminism; and that they gain their political effect not only through the transgression of norms, but also through discursive linkage with, or disconnection from, other political subjectivities. With such claims, the article aims to re-contextualise Greenham Woman in her particular place and time and to contribute to an expanded imaginary about the gendering of anti-nuclear activism.

Introduction

In what ways is anti-nuclear activism gendered, and with what effect? One answer is provided by longstanding assertions of a special relationship between women and peace, which allocate women a leadership role in anti-nuclear activism because of their moral qualities, their traditional traits and responsibilities, or their exclusion from the institutions of political and military power. Such arguments have been criticised for assuming that gender identity is fixed and binary and for missing the ways in which women's traditional roles are invoked in support of militarism, as well as for naturalising women's disadvantaged position. These criticisms are well-founded, but they should not lead us to abandon enquiry into the relationship between gender and anti-nuclear activism. An alternative approach emerges from the retrospective academic literature on Cold War women-only peace camps. Illuminating the array of feminine and feminist subjectivities articulated at Greenham Common and elsewhere, and their transgressive effects, this literature considerably complicates our understanding of the gendering of anti-nuclear politics.

In this article, I extend the analysis that emerges from this literature in a case study of Faslane Peace Camp in Scotland. This case affords the opportunity to examine the construction of gender identities in an anti-nuclear encampment that is *not* women-only: Faslane Peace Camp has always been a living space for women and men, and moreover one in which men have often been more numerous. In addition, the case facilitates consideration of the gendering of anti-nuclear activism not only during the same time period as the women's camps which are the focus of the literature, but beyond that, into the post-Cold War context. Faslane Peace Camp has been in existence continually since 1982 and claims (2013) to be the 'longest running permanent peace camp in the world'.

In what follows, I argue that Faslane Peace Campers in the 1980s articulated a gendered subjectivity which was connected to but distinct from those in the contemporaneous women's camps. Further,

gendered identities were reconstructed on camp in the 1990s under the influence of radical environmentalism, in ways that bolstered rather than transgressed hierarchical social and sexual norms, while also potentially limiting wider solidarities. This leads me to conclude that gendered subjectivities constituted in and through anti-nuclear activism are even more variable than previously considered; that these identities shift over time as well as place; that they are influenced by diverse movements, not solely feminism; and that they gain their political effect not only through the transgression of norms, but also through discursive linkage with or disconnection from other political subjectivities. In such ways, I aim to re-contextualise Greenham Woman in her particular location and era, and to contribute to an expanded imaginary about the connections between gender and anti-nuclear activism. I begin with a review of the literature on Cold War women's peace camps.

Gender and Anti-Nuclear Activism in Cold War Women's Peace Camps

The phenomenon of women's peace camps emerged at the height of the Cold War, in opposition to the rekindling of the arms race between the superpowers and in the context of a renewal of international peace movement activism which included the establishment of many camps outside military installations. The most famous women-only camp was established at the American air base at Greenham Common, England, in September 1981. At its height, between 1983-5, hundreds of women lived in camps at each of the gates of the base and thousands came to protests. Inspired by this example, women's peace camps were established in the early to mid-1980s across the US, Europe and Australia.¹

The retrospective academic literature on the camps has focused overwhelmingly on Greenham, with some attention also to the camps at Seneca Falls in the US and at Pine Gap and Freemantle Sound in Australia. Although located in diverse academic disciplines, these analyses are surprisingly

convergent. To begin with, they have a broadly similar poststructuralist-influenced approach to their subject matter. The authors invoke differing analytical frameworks: for example Anna Feigenbaum (2015) draws on Donna Haraway's cyborg manifesto and its destabilisation of the boundaries between human and machine to make sense of the symbolic power of the material artefacts of Greenham women, while Margaret Laware (2004) and Sasha Roseneil (2000) study identity constructions at Greenham using feminist rhetorical analysis and queer theory respectively. Notwithstanding, these authors share a general concern to destabilise gendered hierarchies, and to treat data— media coverage, newsletters and events ephemera, field notes, interview transcripts, and the embodied tactics and experiences of campers as recorded in words, photographs and videos — as texts, laden with symbolic content and produced in particular material environments and through particular corporeal experiences. These texts are 'read' as constitutive of subjectivities, rather than simply reflective of them, and as directed to diverse audiences by whom they can be interpreted in diverse ways. In that light, the job of the analyst is one of uncovering this instability of meaning, rather than endorsing a definitive interpretation.²

Within this framework, four empirical arguments emerge. The first is the construction of *multiple* gendered subjects opposing nuclear weapons in these camps, including the Mother, whose caring responsibilities and capacities granted her a leading role as peace activist (e.g., Bartlett 2011); the Radical Feminist, driven by her critique of male power and violence (e.g., Murray 2006); the Lesbian, who challenged the heteronormativity of the nuclear state (e.g., Feigenbaum 2010; Roseneil 2000); and the Earth Mother or Goddess, a symbol of women's material and spiritual connection to the planet (e.g., Feigenbaum 2015, 278-9; Young 1990, 34). The conflict between rival efforts to propound these subjectivities is acknowledged, with particular attention paid to the fraught relation between maternalist approaches to anti-nuclear politics and radical feminism (Roseneil 1995, 4-5, 170-2; Titcombe 2013; Bartlett 2011), and to the controversial position of lesbianism. It is claimed that all participants were to some degree 'queered' by their stay in these camps, partly by the

judgements of outsiders but also because they were spaces of 'lesbian possibility' (Feigenbaum 2010, 382) in which women-centred friendship and erotic relations became normative (Roseneil 2000, chap. 10). We are also told of the challenge by a minority of women to this centering of lesbian subjectivity, however (Titcombe 2013; Krasniewicz 1992, 67-71; Harvey 2014, 86-9).

The second argument is that these gendered identities reflected and remade the topography and social relations of particular *places*. We are shown how living on common land in wet, cold, English winters pushed Greenham women toward a 'particular "look"' – close-cut hairdos, heavy footwear, and colourful layers of clothing and waterproofs (Laware 2004, 26; see also Cresswell 1996, 113-4) and to create homes from material found in the surrounding woodland and military base (Feigenbaum 2015). In so doing, they rode roughshod over normative, white, middle-class femininity and domesticity, disrupting the gender order not only of the military base but also of the English countryside (Cresswell 1996, chap. 5). In the blinding heat of the desert at Pine Gap, the (re)creation of gendered subjectivities drew on and challenged different material and symbolic resources, particularly white Australian understandings of the 'red centre' as emblematic of the country and a remote testing-ground for white, heterosexual masculinities (Bartlett 2013). In contrast, the choice of the army depot at Seneca as a site for a women's camp allowed activists to access resonant narratives of resistance associated with that location, most potently a long history of women's rights activism (Krasniewicz 1992, chaps 4 and 9).

The third, connected, empirical claim is the role of the *feminist movement* as the key discursive influence on the reconstruction of gender within the camps, particularly radical feminism (e.g., Feigenbaum 2015; Murray 2006). Moreover, the uneasy relationship of the camps to the wider feminist movement is underlined, in terms not only of some campers' rejection of feminism, particularly its radical variants, but also the disavowal by some feminists then and now of the camps, because of the perceived essentialism of maternalist discourses (Bartlett 2011; Cresswell 1996, 139-

141), or for racist exclusions. In effect, several authors aim to rewrite or 'queer' dominant genealogies of second-wave feminism by pulling anti-nuclear activism from the shadows of feminist history to which it has been relegated, back to centre-stage (Feigenbaum 2015; Roseneil 2000, chap. 1; Sisson Runyan 2015)

Fourth, the literature on women's peace camps converges on the view that their political effect lies in their *transgression of social hierarchies and regulatory norms*. While the theoretical language varies on this point – with scholars invoking Stallybrass and White on the carnivalesque (e.g., Cresswell 1996), for example, or the queering of heterosexist assumptions about domestic and national order (e.g., Roseneil 2000; Sisson Runyan 2015) – there is a pervasive empirical emphasis on the campers' symbolic and rhetorical practices of *appropriation, juxtaposition and inversion*, particularly with regard to gender and sexual identity. Examples of appropriation include the reworking of popular songs by Greenham women in ways which expanded the scope of women's agency and sexuality (Feigenbaum 2010). Juxtaposition can be seen in the contrasting of domestic imagery to austere military installations and of keening, corporeal femininity to hard-nosed, military masculinity (e.g., Laware 2004, 29-30). And inversion is evident to these analysts in the women's refusal to stay compliant and at home, instead asserting their political agency, living their domestic lives and enacting their sexual preferences in full public view (e.g., Young 1990, 29-40). In all, the women-only peace camps are interpreted as denormalising, making visible and strange both nuclear infrastructure and norms of gender and sexuality, as well as opening up new imaginaries and ways of being for the camp participants themselves. In so doing, Roseneil asserts, the camps 'played an important role in constructing some of the possibilities of identity, community and political action which are open to us today' (2000, 3).³

Gender and Anti-Nuclear Activism in Faslane Peace Camp

Before turning to a consideration of how the case of Faslane Peace Camp might extend these four claims about gender and anti-nuclear activism, some background information on the camp and my approach to it is in order.

In terms of its geographical and political setting, the camp lies about thirty miles from Glasgow in Scotland, near to the prosperous town of Helensburgh and just a few hundred yards from the south gate of Her Majesty's Naval Base Clyde which sprawls behind miles of razor wire fences down to the waters of Gare Loch.⁴ The plot of land on the verge of the busy A814 road onto which the camp is shoehorned was owned in the 1980s by Strathclyde Regional Council, based in Glasgow and Labour in orientation (the Labour Party at the time being in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament). This sheltered the camp from eviction procedures, helping it to secure a lease 'for a peppercorn rent' and a caravan site permit (Members of the Faslane Peace Camp 1984, 35-38).⁵ With council restructuring in 1996, the camp came under the jurisdiction of Argyll and Bute, a smaller, rural council reflecting local opinion which remains, in general, hostile to the camp and supportive of a base which provides significant employment (STV News 2012). The new council secured an eviction order in 1998, but chose not to enforce it in the face of tunnelling and other defensive activity at the camp. The camp's durability has also been aided by the fact that majority public opinion in Scotland outwith the local area is anti-nuclear.⁶ Moreover, there is a longstanding peace movement in the country which has, with the election of the Scottish National Party (SNP) to the Scottish Government in 2007, become integrated into the political elite (AUTHOR REF). Faslane Peace Camp is an integral if more radical element of this wider movement, hosting actions in and around the base and acting as a symbolic reminder of the persistence of opposition in Scotland to the British Trident nuclear weapons system.

In terms of the internal composition and infrastructure of the camp, there were as many as forty people living there at points in the 80s and 90s, while nowadays the total hovers around half a dozen. The overwhelming majority have been white and, while the camp has had a local, working-

class character at points, participants have come largely from a more middle-class background and from further afield. The camp has always been mixed-sex, although the proportions of women and men have varied: interviewees told me that two men and two women were the main residents for a couple of years from mid-2013, while in 1994-5 women were in the majority. However, there have been more men than women typically, particularly at the moments when numbers were at their highest. The physical infrastructure of the camp expanded rapidly to accommodate these numbers, with the original handful of tents on the site quickly followed by benders then an array of caravans, along with hand-built communal structures that have come and gone over the years. In this context, campers have restructured domestic space and norms of private property: while individuals and families have tended to stay in what are considered to some degree 'their' caravans, there are shared washing and toilet facilities, and cooking, eating and relaxation are generally conducted in the communal areas. Connectedly, campers have collectivised processes of domestic labour, with tasks such as cooking and gathering firewood shared out on a voluntary basis or organised more formally by rota or through meetings. Today the camp remains crammed with brightly painted caravans and half-finished structures, interspersed with lush planting, its small-scale, higgledy-piggledy, open domesticity in sharp contrast to the enormous, austere and secretive military base on the other side of the road.

As a supporter of nuclear disarmament, I have visited the camp several times over the years while participating in protests, albeit never staying overnight. My research is thus politically sympathetic, but not an insider account nor ethnographic in character. My data consists of two sources: in-depth semi-structured interviews averaging between 2-3 hours, conducted in a two-year period from October 2014 with fifteen individuals⁷, and an archive of campaigning ephemera, which includes the published volume *Diary of a Peace Camp* (Members of the Faslane Peace Camp 1984) and the newsletter produced in the camp (originally *Faslane Focus* and latterly *Faslania*), as well as the more recent online blogs. My approach to analysing this data is in line with the broadly poststructuralist

method of the literature on Cold War women's peace camps, in that I treat interviews and newsletters as constitutive rather than reflective of subjectivities, as gaining meaning in specific contexts, and as open to more than one interpretation. Following on from my previous work (AUTHOR REFERENCE) I have examined the "rhetorical schemata" of the texts, searching for the 'linguistic structures that provide a sense of order ... [such as] instances of gendered identities described "as" or "like", statements about gendered identities that can be problematized, and emphasis on aspects of gender provided by placement within the text' (Shepherd 2008: 30) and I also examine 'predication/subject positioning' (Shepherd 2008: 26, 30-1), considering the gendered attributes of a person or thing and its position in relation to claims in the text about other persons or things. In the analysis that follows, I revisit each of the four claims made about the Cold War women's peace camps in this light.

Reconstructing gender identities in a mixed-sex peace camp

I will consider, first, how campers reconstructed gender identities at Faslane Peace Camp in the 1980s in terms that overlapped with but also differed from those in the contemporaneous women's camps, by constructing the figure of what I will call the Gender-Equal Peace Activist. This identity, attributed to both women and men, challenged the gendered division of labour and gender stereotypes, as Anna underscores in her account of one action: 'I was pregnant ... I had [my first child] in my backpack and a nappy-changing bag in my hand ... we thought having children doesn't exclude you from being part of actions' (interview 12/12/14). Connectedly, there are many examples in the newsletter from this time, and in the *Diary of a Peace Camp* of men performing domestic labour in order to facilitate women-led protest activities: 'We decorated the fence, sang, danced and had a four minute silence...All the while the men were kept busy by running the crèche, serving out soup, emptying the toilets and keeping the home fires burning!'(Lou in Members of the Faslane Peace Camp 1984, 21-22). A convergence in the identities of male and female campers is

underscored by visual representations in the newsletter of the campers as differentiated more by subcultural commitments (anarchist, feminist, punk, hippy) than by gender, as illustrated in Figure 1.⁸

<insert Figure 1 here>

This construction of the Gender-Equal Peace Campaigner is not one of total androgyny, however. For a start, campers frequently enacted a spectacle of gender difference in their protests, just as at Greenham, key to which was the juxtaposition of women's bodies and voices to the intimidating military masculinities on show in the base. This is evident in Shirley's response to an incident when she describes how male military personnel came on the camp during a night-time exercise and pointed guns through caravan windows: 'I says "excuse me ... my children are fast asleep in there ... And ... we put our fingers up the barrels of the guns and sang "take the toys away from the boys" [laughs]... that was powerful' (Shirley, interview 5/12/14). In addition, campers stress that gender-specific activities are necessary for the achievement of equality between women and men. There are examples of men being challenged to take responsibility for their social privilege and perpetration of violence, for example, and of women demanding respect for their specific needs and space for women-only organising, as evident in the establishment of a women's caravan (see Figure 2). I suggest that what we have here is the strategic deployment of gender differences as part of an ongoing struggle, never complete, to overcome gendered inequalities in power and status and create, on the whole, a more gender-convergent political subject.⁹

<insert Figure 2 here>

I suggest also that this gendered subjectivity remained within a heterosexual social order,¹⁰ in contrast to the women's camps. This can be seen particularly in the reproduction of family

relationships: both concretely, in that couples had children in the camp for which they retained primary responsibility and largely separate sleeping and cooking arrangements; and symbolically, in that the camp as a whole was frequently described in interviews as a kind of family, with dominant heterosexual couples co-opted into a parenting role. As Nick put it, 'Shirley and I were a bit older than a lot of the people there, and I think they ... looked on us as like a mum and dad' (27/11/14), while Anna, living on camp a few years later, confirmed: 'It felt much like a family ... I used to wear a badge that said, 'I am not your mother' (interview 22/10/14).¹¹ However, this does not mean that the camp was an exclusively heterosexual space. Vince, for one, told of kissing a man to get media attention, pointed to the presence of self-described lesbians in the camp and recounted how a son of a Tory minister who stayed in the camp with his boyfriend (a submariner from the base) was outed by the tabloid press (interview 30/6/16). Nor did the heterosexual social order in the camp replicate the societal norm, involving instead the creation of non-hegemonic heterosexual relations. See the scepticism exhibited by several interviewees about marriage as an institution as well as about the gendered division of labour, for example, or their insistence that childcare was routinely shared on camp beyond the nuclear family. Or take Toni's rather caustic account of campers sharing the kind of personal feelings usually reserved for the intimate sphere in co-counselling sessions (interview 11/12/2014), as well as Vince's description of 'a period of being in polygamous relationships ... [there was] a lot of bed-hopping' (interview 30/6/16). In that light, it can be argued that campers sought to carve out a gender-equal activist identity within a more open and progressive heterosexual social order.

Shifting gender identities over time

While the retrospective literature on women's peace camps stresses that gendered identities varied according to *place*, the most striking dimension of the data on Faslane Peace Camp is the variation over *time*. Most obviously, in the mid-late 1990s, it seems to me that gender identities was

rearticulated in polarised and hierarchical terms, in sharp contrast to the previous decade. This is evident in newsletter constructions of what I will call the Peace Warrior (see Figures 3 and 4), depicting activists as male superheroes or fighters, in ways that resonated with the hierarchical military masculinity from which the campers had previously asserted their difference. The point is underlined by Vince who still visited during this period and who argued that campers were allocated military ranks, called 'Major and Captain ... they appointed each other' (interview 30/6/16). More ambiguously, Andrew who lived on camp at the time spoke with regret of its lack of 'central command structure', but also acknowledged how once the eviction threat arose it 'completely changed the dynamic. We went into a war footing' (interview 4/8/16). Numbers of women campers declined during this period, according to Andrew, and it seems difficult to discursively incorporate women into the Peace Warrior identity. There are only a few efforts to do so in the newsletters of this period (see Figure 5); more frequent are images of and references to witches, goddesses and earth mothers, attributed great power but on the symbolic level (see Figure 6). While this echoes some of the iconography found at Greenham, in this context the figure of the Goddess is the 'muse' that inspires agency rather than an agent herself. Arguably the Goddess here also has a regressively heterosexual function, with the masculine activist figure gaining heroic and virile qualities from the contrast with her semi-naked form.

<insert Figures 3, 4 and 5 and 6 here>

It should be acknowledged that these images are salted with irony, in line with what Andrew described as the 'raucous, boisterous humour' characterising camp life at the time (interview 4/8/16). Note 'The Sun Says' sticker overlaid on the Goddess image in Fig. 6, referencing the naked women characterising this British tabloid newspaper and poking fun at po-faced, literal interpretations of the symbolic role of the Goddess of Love - 'she's got a nice pair up front'.¹² The joke is sustained through the spoof agony aunt columns peppering the newsletters at this time,

which are full of 'blokes' having problems with their 'birds', in an apparent echo of the so-called 'lads mags' of the time of which such columns were a staple feature (Benwell 2004). On one level, this ironic wit can be read as gaining political purchase from appropriating and exaggerating the sexual attitudes and gender norms of mainstream British society, and particularly of the military, in order to satirise them as ridiculous and to create distance between them and camper identity. An alternative reading of the newsletter imagery is possible, however, one also made of lads mags: that this is a 'rejection of a feminized and feminist "new man" masculinity that emerged in the early 1980s ... and a reactionary return to sexist attitudes and a binary and polarized conception of gender ... effected palatably by the unrelenting omnipresence of ... irony' (Benwell 2004, 3-4). Although Andrew insisted that 'sexism was non-existent' in the camp during his time there and that camp humour may not have been 'politically correct ... but it wasn't racist or sexist' (interview 4/8/2016), the alternative reading is reinforced by the many sexualised images of women from mainstream society in the newsletters, discussed below.

Social movements and gender identities

How can this shift in gendered identity constructions be explained? The retrospective literature on Cold War women's peace camps emphasises the feminist influence on the re-articulation of gender and it is no surprise that feminism played a role at Faslane in the same period. This was partly a direct product of Greenham, given two of the women I interviewed had stayed there previously (one travelling initially from Seneca Falls), several visited there regularly, and Greenham women also visited Faslane. The impact of Greenham and its radical feminism discourse can be seen in the data in the celebration of women-only activism and in the critique of male dominance and male violence, particularly after the rapes at the Molesworth peace camp in England. '[W]e had a meeting on camp ... [about] what the rapes at Molesworth meant to us as a mixed peace camp ... How do we make the camp a safe place for women?' (Jeanne, Newsletter 1986, November: 3). Neither of these planks of

radical feminism went uncontested. Una, for one, argued that women-only organising was exclusionary and middle-class (interview 25/6/16), and others differentiated their feminism from what they characterised as the dogmatism and 'separatism' of Greenham women who were often 'a bit hardcore for us ... extreme in their views' (Anna, interview 22/10/14), the contrast allowing for the construction of a moderate feminism that was more palatable within a heterosexual context. Nonetheless, feminism, along with anarchism and the peace movement, remained an important ideological element in the camp in the 1980s (as symbolised by Figure 7). Correspondingly, its influence declined in the 1990s. Andrew, for one, disliked the label feminist, preferring 'egalitarianist' and describing himself as in favour of equal rights. He cited an example when women visitors from the Menwith Hill camp tried to organise a women's camp at Faslane: 'We said "that's unfair ... we've lived here for ages' ... so we stopped it ... I mean what sort of society are you trying to create here, where you don't want men included in it?" ... feminist seems to me to imply superiority' (interview 4/8/16).

<insert Figure 7 here>

I suggest that feminism was displaced at Faslane by radical environmentalism. It has been widely argued that the British green movement took a 'radical turn' in the 90s, in reaction to the previous decade of professionalization in the movement and to a major road-building programme (Doherty, Paterson, and Seel 2002, 1). A new generation of activist networks was born, incorporating New Age travellers, urban ravers and squatters as well as semi-clandestine ecotage organisations such as Earth First! and the Earth Liberation Front (Seel and Plows 2000). There was what one frequent visitor at the time described as a 'two-way connection' between the individuals and groups involved in radical environmentalism and those staying at Faslane Peace Camp (Anna, interview 12/12/14), particularly with the establishment and then eviction of the 'Pollok Free State' camp to oppose the extension of the M77 on the southside of Glasgow 1994-6 (Routledge 1997), followed by the

threatened eviction at Faslane. Willa, for example, whose first taste of direct action was in Earth First!, 'moved from Faslane to Pollok' where she lived for two years (interview 8/6/16).

Two dimensions of radical environmentalism seem key to the re-articulation of gendered identities at Faslane in the mid-to-late 90s. Firstly, a 'neo-tribalist' element that was nostalgic, even atavistic in tone, referencing a pre-industrial way of life and a pagan, Celtic spirituality in which humans were reintegrated into the natural world and the cosmic order (McKay 1996, chap 2), is the likely source of the Goddess iconography in the newsletter, a decade after such tropes circulated in women-only peace camps. (It is also the probable source of a romanticised pre-modern, combative Scottish identity, referenced in Figure 5). Secondly, radical environmentalism was associated with a commitment to direct action informed by a rather different ethos than that infusing the peace movement a decade before. While this ethos remained anarchist, the pacifist emphasis on the moral force of action and a willingness to accept arrest by the state, widespread in the peace movement of the 1980s, was displaced by a more hostile attitude to elites (viewed as embedded within the capitalist system and therefore unamenable to moral persuasion), and a preference for covert or confrontational tactics (e.g., Plows, Wall, and Doherty 2004). In this context, protest camps became primarily defensive, focused on repelling the threat of eviction through physical confrontation with the authorities (Doherty 2000). This is the likely source of the Peace Warrior iconography. Although Andrew asserted that 'it wasn't sexist, the road protest movement' (interview 4/8/16), and Willa agreed, critics have indicated of similar contexts that an emphasis on individual responsibility, on physical strength and on taking a stance in a war or fight ultimately privileges 'the white, male able-body' (Coleman and Bassi 2011, 216; Sullivan 2005, 189).¹³

Feminism did not disappear entirely from camp discourse during this period. It surfaced in occasional guest commentaries in the newsletter by previous campers, and there are also hints of the emergence of new variants. Willa, who lived at the camp 1992-3 and claimed to have 'identified

strongly with feminism at that point’, recalled that she ‘had a kind of earring ... it was the Earth First! fist but it ... in the women’s symbol’ (interview 8/7/16), and there are glimpses of the ‘riot grrrl’ reformulation of feminism of the 1990s, in which women-only creative spaces were endorsed as necessary counterpoints to male dominance, but in anarchist and punk-influenced ways that avoided the organisational culture and language of second-wave feminism (e.g., Downes 2007): ‘Rude girls are about. They are against patriarchy... porn, paedophilia and pissing about. There is no group, no meetings ... Rude girls share pints, share grievances, get pissed off and go do something about it’ (Newsletter 1995, Autumn equinox: 6). It seems arguable that riot grrrl sensibilities, along with continued pressure from old-hands, facilitated the survival of feminism in the margins of camp life in the 1990s and its resurgence in the 2000s. While it may not have regained the traction of the 80s, as evident in recent camper Denise’s continued rejection of the term – ‘I’m all for balance ... I wouldn’t say I identify as feminist’ (interview 23/10/2014), feminism seems to have played more of a role in recent reformulations of camp identity. Fiona, who camped 2011-13, illustrates the point: ‘I think the big first word I learned was “patriarchy” ... everyone was on the same page [about that]’ (interview 25/10/14). And the influence of feminism is also evident in the jubilant blog entry below:

This weekend saw the delectable women from Aldermaston Women’s Peace Camp descend on Faslane. The theme of the invasion was “Domestic Extremists at large” ... A few of us from Peace Camp joined our sisters and, armed with rubber gloves, head scarves and thought provoking banners, like good domesticated women, we gave the gate a right scrub. Of course, we had to stop the influx of NATO army trucks by blocking the road... that’s why the gate was so dirty in the first place! (Faslane Peace Camp 2011)

The political effect of gender identities

This leads me finally to consider the political effect of the gender identities articulated at Faslane Peace Camp. The literature on women-only camps suggests that impact is likely to come from the transgression of gender and sexuality norms, through practices of appropriation, juxtaposition and inversion. Some of these effects can be seen at Faslane, particularly in the 1980s and again in the 2000s. The ironic invocation of the housewife in the above blog entry is a good example of both appropriation and juxtaposition, while the inversion of gendered norms is evident whenever male campers take on responsibility for domestic and support work as well as in the restructuring of domestic space and roles in the everyday life of the camp. The transgressive effect of all this may not have been as pronounced as at Greenham and elsewhere, given it has taken place within a largely heterosexual social framework. However, it is arguable that the camp, like Greenham and elsewhere, opened up new possibilities of gender and sexuality to participants in the 1980s and 2000s, stretching, at least to some extent, the 'normative boundaries of "womanhood"' (Laware 2004) and of what it means to be a man, as well as making visible and strange the otherwise invisible and normalised military masculinities on display at the adjacent nuclear base. The evidence above also suggests that camper discourse in the mid-to-late 1990s did not achieve this political effect (even if it achieved others, such as camp survival).

In addition, I suggest that an exclusive emphasis on transgression of social norms misses a crucial political effect of the re-articulation of gender identities at Faslane Peace Camp. Looking instead at the ways in and extent to which camper gender identities have involved the assertion of similarity to wider social subjectivities, I note that campers from the 1980s frequently underlined affinities on the basis of gender and class with non-campers, including with military personnel and police. Quentin, for example, emphasised a shared military background when talking to and about soldiers on the base: 'there was a dog handler, and I still see him today, you know, we get on great, and we used to have conversations' (interview 2/12/14), while Nick recounted an incident when an officer 'pulled out a CND badge from his pocket'. He says "that's the closest I can get to wearing it" ... you can't

stereotype them' (Nick, interview 27/11/14). Even Vince, who talked gleefully about his constant, provocative cat-and-mouse tactics with the military and police, to whom he frequently referred as 'arseholes', also spoke with affection of the 'community copper' who would 'would come and have a cup of tea every day' and for whom the camp was a safe space to express emotion ((interview 30/6/16). Vince also acknowledged that 'because we had kids we normalised it a bit'. This last point is strongly reinforced by Anna's discussion of becoming a mother:

[P]eople were quite wary of talking to us, but I remember the first time just walking around town, holding this new baby wrapped in a blanket, and women particularly, who must've known who I was... came up and said, 'oh, you've had your baby, what did you have?'
[H]aving a baby was just so normal ... it was a point of connection with us ... those human connections are really important. (Interview, 22/10/14)

The Peace Warrior and Goddess figures from the newsletter in the 1990s, in contrast, were not only differentiated not only from each other, but also from both women and men in wider society. There are some ambiguities here: the (ironic) reworking of military imagery in the Peace Warrior figure described above indicates to some degree an admiration (however grudging) for military masculinities and an effort to emulate them. Nonetheless, the police were frequently called 'pigs' in the newsletter in the 1990s, and along with military and political elites, stigmatised as fascists or made the butt of jokes for their low intelligence (see Figure 8). Although Andrew argued that this reflected the views of only a minority of campers and was 'an age thing. If you're younger, first time on a protest camp, you get arrested, you're 'pig, filth'there was a lot of that' (interview 4/8/16), there is still a clear Othering dynamic here, one strongly reinforced by the representation of women from mainstream society. In this regard, the newsletters are peppered with the sexualised images of heavily made-up and conventionally beautiful glamour models and supermodels, icons of white bourgeois consumerist femininity, their faces sometimes altered to make them look like zombies

and aliens (see Figures 9 and 10). Thus the newsletter underscored the separateness and even superiority of Faslane Peace Campers, in ways likely to have strengthened their collective identity but to have circumscribed the camp's wider appeal.

<insert Figures 8, 9 and 10 here>

Conclusion

I set out in this article to reconsider how anti-nuclear activism is gendered, and with what effects. My starting point in the first section was the retrospective scholarly research on Cold War women's peace camps, which problematises the assumption that anti-nuclear activism is gendered only insofar it reiterates essentialist views of the special affinity of women for peace. Instead this literature highlights the array of competing gendered identities articulated in Cold War women's peace camps – from the Lesbian to the Mother – showing how these reflected and remade particular places as well as feminist ideology, and had a transgressive political effect.

In what ways does the account of Faslane Peace Camp in the second section extend this analysis? I argued that the 1980s saw the articulation in the camp of what I have called the Gender-Equal Peace Activist, displaced by the rise of gender-differentiated and unequal Peace Warrior/Earth Goddess identities in the mid-to-late 1990s. This shift was caused by the declining influence of feminism and the rise of radical environmentalism, and it meant that reconstruction of gender in the camp at this time was more limited in its political effects because it both reinstated hierarchical gender norms while asserting difference from the gender identities of those beyond the camp. In such ways, the case study reminds us that the gendered subjectivities created at Greenham Common and elsewhere are of their place and time: notwithstanding their remarkable influence, Greenham women and their contemporaries do not tell the whole story about gender and anti-nuclear

activism. Neither, of course, do Faslane Peace Campers, but my study of their discourses indicates four ways in which we might further expand our imaginary about the connection between gender and anti-nuclear activism.

First, the case study demonstrates that the array of gendered identities mobilised in anti-nuclear activism is even wider than has as yet been acknowledged, and that the literature on Cold War women's peace camps could be usefully supplemented by attention to mixed-gender activities and organising. Second, and connected, the case indicates that that these gendered identities vary over time as well as space, and that the post-Cold War context ushered in significant changes not only in the shape and degree of anti-nuclear mobilisation in the West but also in the gendered politics of such mobilisation, in ways meriting further research. This gives rise to the question of what we might learn about and from gendered subjectivities constructed in the context of anti-nuclear activism in other places and in more recent time periods - and not only in peace camps. How has gender been mobilised in large-scale protests in India or Japan against the building of nuclear power plants, for example? Or in the transnational humanitarian initiative? Third, the case reminds us that a range of social movements, not just feminism, feed into the discursive re-shaping of gendered identities and relationships in anti-nuclear activism. Nationalism, for example, while playing a minimal role in the construction of gendered identities at Faslane Peace Camp beyond a diffuse Celtic romanticism during the later 1990s, is certainly crucial in the larger Scottish peace movement and likely to be significant elsewhere (AUTHOR REF); and the case also indicates that the relationship between shifting forms of anarchist practice and the construction of gender bears further scrutiny.

Finally, my enquiry into Faslane Peace Camp points to ways in which we might expand analyses of the political effect of gender identities in anti-nuclear activism. In particular, it indicates that existing accounts of the transgression or queering of social and sexual norms require further specification with regard to the implications of non-hegemonic sex/gender relations that remain within the

heterosexual matrix, in line with recent theorisation of heterosexuality as non-monolithic and as itself policed by heteronormativity (Beasley 2011; Jackson 2006). Greater attention is also needed to the ways in which gendered identity constructions affect the articulation of relations of solidarity beyond the activist group. Moreover, other potential political effects of gendered identities in anti-nuclear activism remain worthy of exploration, albeit they lie beyond the scope of this article, such as shifts in media narratives of nuclear weapons, in public opinion or voting behaviour, in views and practices of base workers, or in political decision-making.¹⁴ Limited though it may be, my study of Faslane Peace Camp further complicates our picture of the connection between gender and anti-nuclear activism while confirming that, just as gender is ineluctably part of the story of the perpetuation of the nuclear state, it remains also part of the story of opposing it.

Acknowledgements

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at a workshop on Sex, Gender and Nuclear Weapons at the University of Leicester, 16 January 2015; a panel on 'Gendered Agency in War and Peace: Politics of Security' held at the ISA annual convention in Atlanta, 16-19 March 2016, and a conference on Social Movements and Protest held at the University of Brighton, 10-11 October 2016. I am grateful to the organisers of and audiences at those events for their encouragement and feedback, particularly Meryl Kenny, Andrew Futter, Maria O'Reilly and Laura MacLeod. Thanks also to the anonymous reviewers at IFJP for their insightful criticism. My greatest thanks go to those anti-nuclear activists of Faslane Peace Camp, past and present, who generously gave of their time and attention in interviews often stretching for several hours and who have waited a long time to see any results. Many thanks, finally, to Jane Tallents for access to her archive of camp ephemera.

Notes

¹ See the camps listed at <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/ordbog/ford/f254.htm>.

² For methodological discussions, see Krasniewicz (1992, chap. 2), Titcombe (2013) and Young (1990, chap. 5 and appendix).

³ It can be argued that the camps were insufficiently transgressive, or that transgression itself was inadequate as a political strategy (e.g., Cresswell 1996, 145; Young 1990, 32-7). My point remains that there is a remarkable consensus in the literature that the women's camps achieved their effect, whether that is judged positive or negative, through transgression.

⁴ The base was built in the early 1960s and expanded in the 1980s: it is home to about 3000 military personnel and their families and hosts 4000 civilian workers, as well as the British Trident submarine nuclear system (Nicholson 2015).

⁵ There was a much smaller camp at the north gate of the base, 1985-8.

⁶ 'A poll by TNS BMRB for Scottish CND in March 2013 found that 25% of those questioned were uncommitted, but of those who expressed a preference, 81% were opposed to Trident replacement, with only 19% supporting the plan' (Scottish CND 2013). The extent of opposition has been contested in a more recent poll but even that found a minority of 37 % of the Scottish public supporting the UK's nuclear weapons 'in principle' with 48 % opposed (Eaton 2013).

⁷ I have interviewed seven women and eight men: while most camped during the 1980s, three camped in the 1990s and three in the 2000s, and my interviewees also include two frequent visitors, one visiting from the camp's inception and the other from 1997. All interviewee names are pseudonyms.

⁸ These subcultural identities may have been organised spatially at points, with the camp at the north gate being originally Christian in character and later revived by young anarchist punks, in an echo of the distinct cultural character of Greenham's different gates.

⁹ This should not be taken to mean that gender inequalities were always overcome. As one interviewee conceded, 'it was difficult that first year [of my arrival] because ... there were only three women in the camp ... the blokes were just blokes ... they needed to be coaxed along to do things like the washing up' (Toni, interview 11/12/14). Another camper was more vitriolic: 'I've wasted enough of my energy on layabouts here ... (strange enough, it happens to be men)' (Pauline in Members of the Faslane Peace Camp 1984, 57).

¹⁰ 'Heterosexuality ... should not be thought of as simply a form of sexual expression ... Heterosexuality is by definition, a gender relationship, ordering not only sexual life but also domestic and extra-domestic divisions of labour and resources' (Jackson 2006, 107).

¹¹ This dynamic continued into 1992-3 with Willa referring to two sets of 'mums' and 'dads' during that time (interview 8/7/16).

¹² The Sun used to feature a semi-naked 'Page 3 girl'. Andrew says that, on camp at the time, 'we'd always read The Guardian [a left-wing broadsheet]. The Sun newspaper was only used to light the fire' (interview 4/8/16). Clearly, though, it remained a reference point for the newsletters.

¹³ In this vein, Paul Routledge's analysis of Pollok Free State draws attention to 'the "macho" character of some of the "Free Staters", the privileging of men's voices at camp meetings and the fact that gender roles often followed a traditional pattern: the men would chop wood and climb trees, and the women would cook' (Routledge 1997, 368). Such dynamics were eclipsed for Willa by class inequality: 'I don't remember it [gender] being that visible ... [or] any tension around that.'

¹⁴ It is arguable that Faslane Peace Camp has had an indirect effect on voting or policy-making through the wider peace movement, and a direct effect on the attitudes and behaviours of base workers through the disruption of everyday base routines, but further research (going beyond a focus on the internal dynamics of camper discourse) is required to demonstrate these effects and disentangle their gendered dimensions.

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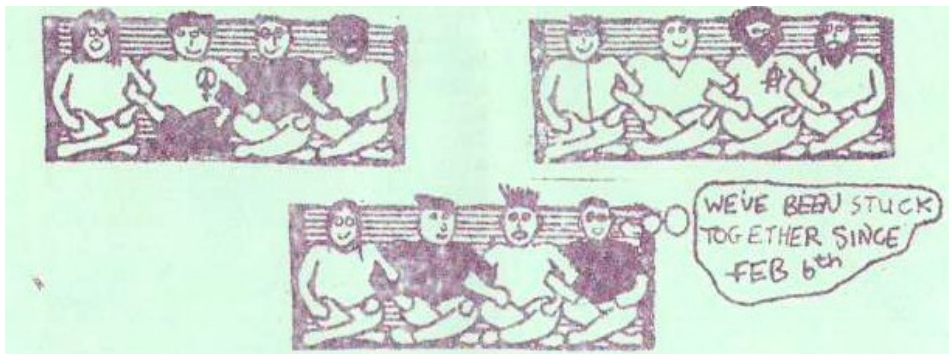
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Beyond Greenham Woman?

Gender Identities and Anti-Nuclear Activism in Peace Camps

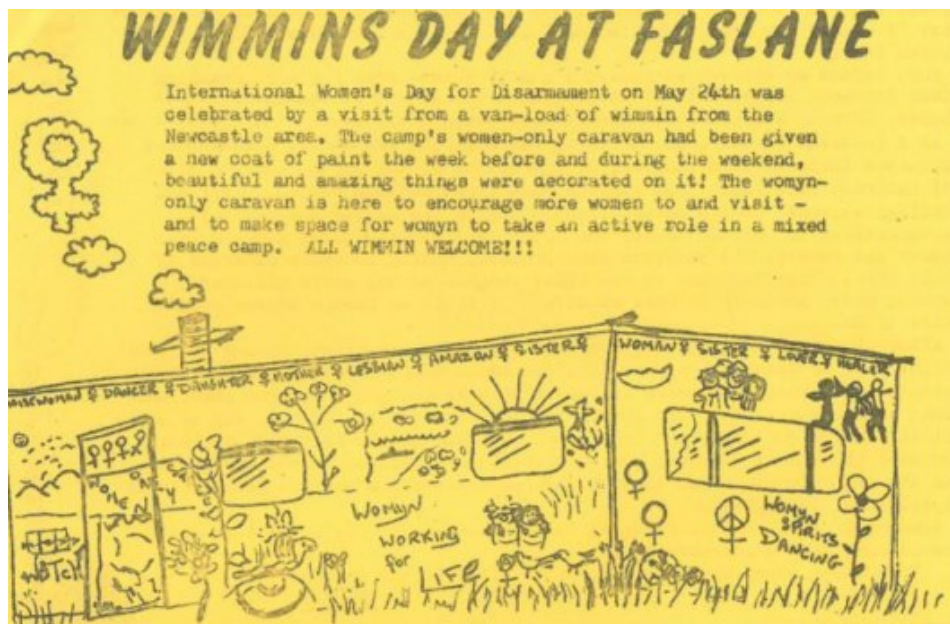
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Figure 1: We've Been Stuck Together



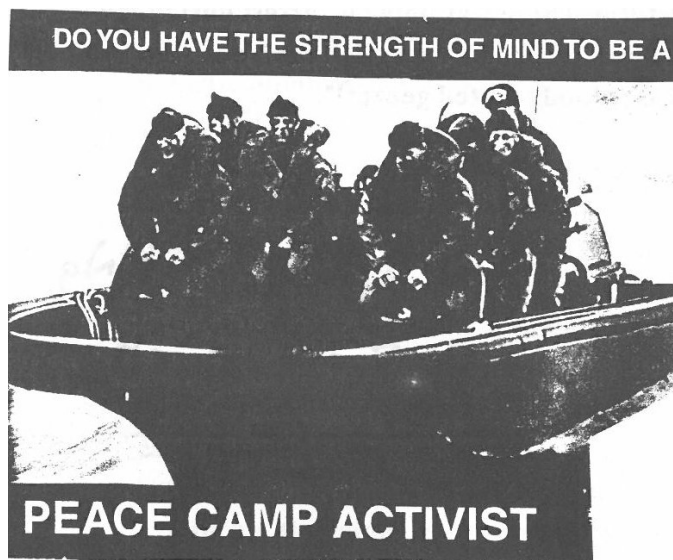
Source: Newsletter 1986, May, 2

Figure 2: Wimmins Day at Faslane



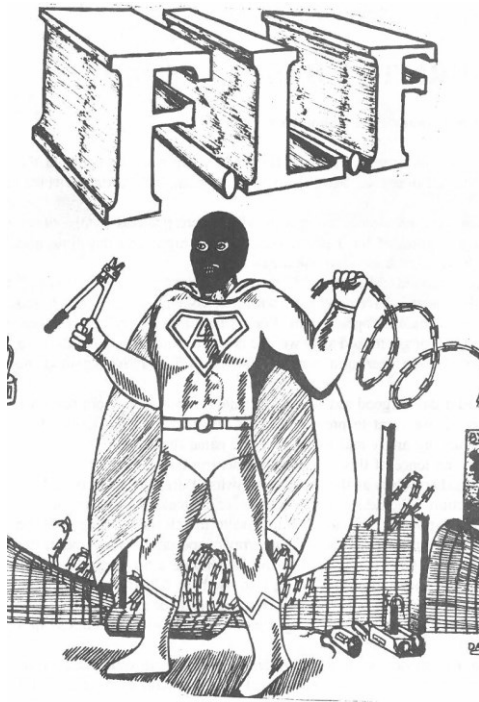
Source: Newsletter 1986, July, 11

Figure 3: Do you have the strength of mind to be a Peace Camp activist?



Source: Newsletter 1997, Winter Solstice, 3

Figure 4: Fence Liberation Front



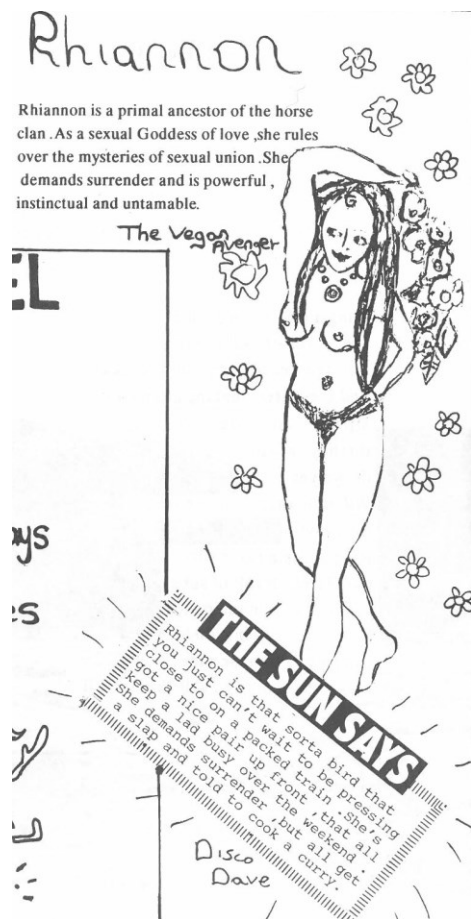
Source: Newsletter 1996, Winter Solstice, 13

Figure 5: The Battle of Harlow Hill/Psychedelic Senga



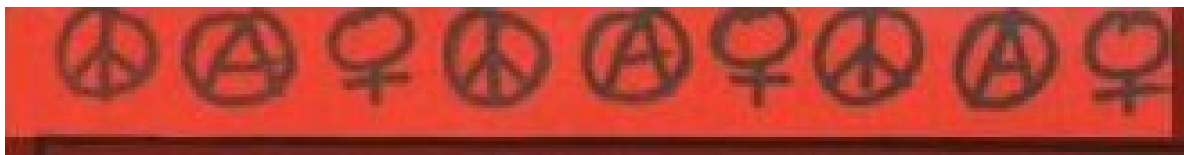
Source: Newsletter 1997, Spring Equinox, 7

Figure 6: Rhiannon, Goddess of Love



Source: Newsletter 1997, Summer, 6

Figure 7: Newsletter ribbon graphic: peace, anarchism, feminism.



Source: Newsletter 1988, February, 6 (but also found in other issues)

Figure 8: Punx in Pigland



Source: Newsletter 1995, Autumn Equinox, 3

Figure 9: Open to All Comers



Source: Newsletter 1997, Winter Solstice, 2

Figure 10: Alien/The Telepathy Project/Fahrenheit 451



Source: Newsletter 1995, Autumn Equinox, front cover